



# THE ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW

NOV.-DEC., 1954  
VOL. IV NO. 11

Published monthly as a service to Atlanta citizens by the Division of Research, School of Business Administration, Atlanta Division, University of Georgia.

## COMMUNISM AND SOCIAL REFORM

by

DR. GERALD RUNKLE

*Dr. Runkle is Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia. He received his doctorate from Yale University. Dr. Runkle has written an excellent article which we feel will be of considerable interest to the readers of the ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW. Dr. Runkle points out that the basic philosophy of Communism is unalterably opposed to legislation by democratic governments which improves the social conditions of their citizens. He says they oppose it because such legislation eliminates social problems which the Communists could otherwise use to their advantage to create unrest. Dr. Runkle then goes on to answer the obvious question: "If the basic philosophy of Communism is opposed to social reforms, why do Communists in democratic countries appear on many occasions to support them?"*

It is not difficult to find in the writings of Marx and Engels demands for social reforms in capitalistic society. One notorious example is in the *Communist Manifesto* where, among other things, these men call for "a heavy progressive or graduated income tax," "abolition of all right of inheritance," "free education for all children in public schools," and "abolition of child factory labour in its present form."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, individuals and groups of the present century who call themselves Communists and followers of Marx, have worked for such goals as collective bargaining rights for labor, wage increases, better working conditions, social security and pensions, and more just treatment of depressed races. They have attacked nationalism, imperialism, and economic depressions. They have called for government ownership of utilities and some of them have backed such projects as the T.V.A.

The result has been that many people now reject such measures out of hand, or distrust them because of their connection with Communism. They feel that these measures and others interfere with "free enterprise," are "socialistic," or are "steps toward Communism" and that a nation by adopting

legislation to secure them "hurtles along the road toward Communism."

The purpose of this paper is to suggest hypothetical answers to two questions: (1) Does social change of this general character bring us closer to Communism? (2) If the answer to '(1)' is *yes*, then is this approach to Communism desirable? If the answer to '(1)' is *no*, then why do Communist theorists and workers call for such changes?

### I.

Communist writers such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin describe several situations which they contend develop in a capitalist society and which make a Communist revolution "inevitable." Here are the Communist's arguments:

(a) Because of the frenzied efforts of the capitalists to wring as much "surplus value" as possible out of the laborers, the working conditions of the latter become increasingly miserable. Surplus value, being defined as the difference between the value the working-man creates by his work and the value of his labor-power (in the case of unskilled workers, subsistence), can be increased by lengthening the working-day, intensifying the work, hiring women and children, instituting machinery, etc. All surplus value will go to the capitalist so long as he pays the worker no more than the value of his labor-power. This, except in time of war or preparation for war, he never need do because the continual presence of an "industrial reserve army" insures a supply of labor-power—a commodity—greater than the demand. Thus, in a free enterprise-capitalistic society, the laborer works longer and harder to enrich his employer. Suffering so at the hands of his exploiter, he will eventually be ready to "storm the barricades."

(b) Society is splitting more and more into two sharply demarcated classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The former is getting smaller as wealth becomes more centralized; the latter is

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1948, pp. 30-31.

getting larger as outstripped bourgeoisie sink into the working class. The latter is furthermore developing a sense of solidarity and "class-consciousness." The bourgeoisie produce "above all, their own grave-diggers." The interests of the two classes are forever contrary. At one end, ease and privilege; at the other, poverty and degradation. The antagonism between the two classes becomes so intense that armed conflict breaks out, the proletarians to win and build a Communistic society.

(c) The buying power of the home market decreases as the capitalists become fewer and the workers are earning only subsistence wages. The producers must find foreign markets to absorb their mountains of goods. Imperialism goes hand in hand with capitalism, with imperialist wars the consequence. Eventually, the workers who have to fight these wars will realize that no one benefits but the capitalists. They may turn their weapons on their oppressors instead of their equally duped foes on the battlefield.

(d) It is an essential feature of an advanced capitalistic economy that periodic crises occur. Every ten or fifteen years there is a depression. During one of these depressions, the injustice of full warehouses on one side and people in want on the other will be more than the proletarians can endure. It will be obvious to them that the capitalist system of production and distribution can no longer smoothly handle the wealth that the forces of production make possible.

(e) Inasmuch as most capitalist countries have a democratic government, it would appear that the workers could ameliorate their conditions by democratic means. They *are* in a majority! The Communist analysis of capitalist democracy is classical. The argument the Communists give comes to this conclusion: Economic inequality breeds political inequality. The worker cannot count for as much as his oppressor who has superior financial resources. When, by superb organization and great effort, the workers begin to be a political force, hypocritical "democracy" is replaced by fascism. This can only be dealt with by a Communist revolution.

It is legitimate to conclude from this that so far as social legislation reduces or prevents any of these factors for a Communist revolution, this legislation does *not* bring us temporally closer to Communism. Indeed, it removes us further *from* it.

It might perhaps be objected that such measures only put off the Communist revolution by conceding in advance that for which the revolution is to be waged, and that we are, indeed, instituting Communism peacefully to prevent the battle. Although the word 'Communism' is most ambiguous, neither sense of 'Communism' that can be substituted in the previous sentence would necessarily make the sentence a true statement. 'Classless society' ("Higher Phase") would not make it a true state-

ment unless by legislation we obliterate class distinctions, private property, and all government. 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' ("Lower Phase") will not do either unless we deny all political rights to property owners and try by all possible means to eliminate the capitalist class rather than to reconcile it to wider interests of society.

Social reforms, far from bringing capitalist countries closer in time to a Communist revolution, actually prevent it. Social evils checked or eradicated by parliamentary procedure will not inspire great upheavals to clear the ground for a radical reconstruction by a fanatical dictatorship. Nor do they bring us closer in essence to Communism when the great difference is seen between any democratic society (whatever its economy) and the arbitrary class dictatorship required by the Communists as long as there is to be any government at all.

This conclusion does not depend on acceptance of the Communist theory of history. Indeed, it conflicts with an important point in the theory: the working classes will never be able to help themselves through democratic reformism. Still, however, one must accept much of Marx's analysis of the capitalist society he knew in the nineteenth century. The working hours, living conditions, crises, wars, political powerlessness, etc., of the working classes were deplorable. And he is doubtless cor-

## ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW

Published monthly by the

**Division of Research, School of Business Administration  
Atlanta Division, University of Georgia  
24 Ivy Street, S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.**

### School of Business Administration

George E. Manners, Dean

### Division of Research

Paul H. Rigby, Ph.D., Director of the Division and  
Editor of the Atlanta Economic Review

William H. Wells, Statistician  
Shirley Thompson, Secretary

### Committee on Research

Paul H. Rigby, Chairman

Willys R. Knight  
Harold L. Johnson

Marvin Tummins  
C. Clyde Jones

### Subscription to ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW

The ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW is sent free of charge to anyone interested in receiving it. If you are not already on the mailing list and wish to receive the REVIEW regularly, please write to the Division of Research, Atlanta Division, University of Georgia, Atlanta, Georgia.

rect in his prediction that if these conditions became intensified or even stayed the same, a conflagration of some kind would ensue. Ironically, the very legislated reforms that prevented such a conflagration were labelled "socialistic" and "communistic" by many of those who had most to lose by a revolution.

The Communists are not interested in palliatives, but in creating a revolution. They do not want a piece-meal and gradual alleviation of social evils in the context of the old society. They have no use for Burke or the more liberal "utopians". Social injustice can only be removed by a radical alteration of the economic base of society, by a complete transformation of the mode in which products are produced and exchanged. Lenin defines a Marxist as "one who extends the acceptance of class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>2</sup>

Marx himself, in addressing the General Council of the First International in 1865, cautioned against losing sight of the real goal in agitation for immediate social gains:

At the same time and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economic reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: 'Abolition of the wages system'!"<sup>3</sup>

In another place, Marx has written: "Every social reform must remain a Utopia until the proletarian revolution and the feudalistic counter-revolution have been pitted against each other in a world-wide war."<sup>4</sup> This can be extended. Engels distinguished the "utopian" from the "scientific socialist" on the basis of the latter's realistic willingness to see that the hope of society rests only in the complete victory of the proletarian class in its battle with the bourgeois class.

Lenin writes that the only way any real people's revolution is to be accomplished is by the smashing and destruction of the ready-made state machinery.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible through the use of the duly constituted political form, which is "connected by thousands of threads with the bourgeoisie

and saturated through and through with routine and inertia."<sup>6</sup> In a similar vein is this remark from another work of Lenin:

"Marxism differs from the petty-bourgeois, opportunist 'Social-Democracy' of Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. in that it admits the necessity for the above-mentioned periods of a state not like the usual parliamentary bourgeois republic, but like the Paris Commune."<sup>7</sup>

He goes on to attack people who are "routine worshippers, slaves of rotten legality, corrupted by parliamentarism, etc., bureaucrats accustomed to nice sinecures and 'peaceful' labors."<sup>8</sup>

Conclusion: Some of the same social evils are with us today that disturbed Marx one hundred years ago. There are new demands, new grievances, and new problems as well. Each should be approached on its own merits and examined on the basis of the public good. But one should not be prejudiced against any legislative action merely because some socialists or Communists somewhere sometime called for it, or lamented over a social mis-arrangement that inspired it. For, once again, the violent disruption of society is best prevented by curing its ills. The Communist way of curing the evils is violent and revolutionary reconstruction of society. The anti-Communist way is peaceful, democratic, and parliamentary.

## II.

If social legislation staves off Communism, then why do Communists sometimes agitate for it? Would it not be more revolutionary for them to deepen and intensify the grievances instead of ameliorating them?

It is clearly expressed in the Communist theory of history that capitalism, if allowed freely to develop, will end in destroying itself. The seeds of its own destruction will mature in its own womb. Furthermore, the implications of this view have been recognized by Communist theorists: Tampering and artificial props will not prevent the revolution, but they may postpone it.

Marx actually encourages the proletariat in the passage quoted above because, as well as miseries, "the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economic reconstruction of society." Marx appears to be saying, "Rejoice in your miseries, for these are the signs that the forces of history are about ready to erupt. Let the disease run its course; don't slow it down by medicinal aid." This in a speech to workers debating the asking of a wage increase! Significantly, Marx does tell them to seek it, although he cannot refrain from a little debunking of its importance.

This optimism regarding the necessity of evil for the final glorious denouement is found in Engels also: "Without slavery, no Greek state, no

2. V. I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 30.

3. Karl Marx, VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1853, p. 61.

4. Karl Marx, WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1933, p. 15.

5. V. I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 96.

6. IBID., p. 96.

7. V. I. Lenin, THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 13.

8. IBID., p. 20.

Greek art and science; without slavery, no Roman Empire . . . no modern Europe . . . no modern socialism."<sup>9</sup> Without a free working of capitalism, no Communist revolution. Stalin echoes these sentiments in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.<sup>10</sup> In an important sense, then, the Communists are the most conservative of political groups. Fundamentally, they favor "laissez-faire"—give capitalism free rein to ruin itself. Fascism could be accepted in much better spirit by the Communists than by the democratic liberal because, for the former, it signified the dying gasp of capitalism: the bourgeoisie retain their privileges by unconcealed force and dictatorship.

Perhaps this dialectical conservatism will help explain the intemperate outbursts of the Communists against the social-democratic groups. Engels contemptuously refers to the "buying of the proletariat" in a letter to Marx (Feb. 5, 1851). Engels also found nothing to cheer about in the efforts of the Englishmen, Watts and Cobden, who had been somewhat successful in England in their work for public schools, libraries, museums, and other "socialistic" goals. The Communistic editor Adoratsky terms Watts a "petty-bourgeois conciliator." Marx calls Watts' book, *Trade Societies and Strikes, Machinery and Cooperative Societies*, "a very sink of long-ago-rotten apologetic commonplaces."<sup>11</sup>

Lenin in talking about the Second International which, under the leadership of the Social Democrats, had "perverted and debased Marxism," writes: "The word democracy is not only not scientific when applied to the Communist Party, but since March, 1917, it has simply become a *blinker* placed upon the eyes of the revolutionary people, preventing the latter from establishing boldly, freely, and on its own initiative a new form of power: The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers, etc., Deputies, as the sole power in the state and the harbinger of the 'withering away' of the state as such."<sup>12</sup> The word 'blinker' is important here for the point that is being made. Liberal political movements take their place with religion as opiates. Men who could be girding themselves for the revolution are seduced into trying to strengthen the old society!

Just before he died, Marx wrote a letter to Sorge, a Communist leader in the United States, on the subject of Henry George. George is pronounced theoretically backward and called a "pan-

cea-monger." His program did seem to conform to the demand made in the *Communist Manifesto* for appropriation of ground rent by the state. But this was only one among numerous other transitional measures which Marx says "are and must be contradictory in themselves." The "socialists" are all panacea-mongers, taking seriously such measures as solutions "of the antagonisms involved in the present method of production." The great fault of these reformers is that "they leave *wage labor* and therefore *capitalist production* in existence." Their work is counter-revolutionary, being "an attempt, decked out with socialism, to save *capitalist domination* and indeed to establish it afresh on an even wider basis than its present one."<sup>13</sup>

Marx and Engels continually looked forward hopefully to depressions. In a letter to Bernstein in 1882 Engels restates their importance: "That crises are one of the most powerful levers of revolutionary upheaval was already stated in *The Communist Manifesto* and was treated in detail up to 1848 inclusive in the review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, where, however, it was shown too that returning prosperity also breaks revolution and lays the basis for the victory of reaction."<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Communists are against any measure that appears to reduce crises or promote prosperity—short of a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The times seemed particularly propitious around 1856-7. In high spirits, Marx wrote Engels in September, 1856: "This time, moreover, the thing is on a European scale never reached before and I do not think we shall be able to sit here as spectators much longer. Even the fact that I have at last got to the point of furnishing a house again and sending for my books proves to me that the 'mobilization' of our persons is at hand."<sup>15</sup>

Engels writes Marx from the United States in November, 1857: "It would be desirable for this 'improvement' to have merged into the chronic crises before a second and decisive blow falls. Chronic pressure is necessary for a while in order to warm up the populations. The proletariat will then strike better, with better consciousness of its cause and more unity, just as a cavalry attack succeeds much better if the horses have first to trot 500 paces in order to come within charging distance of the enemy. I would not like anything to happen too soon, before all Europe is completely involved—the struggle afterwards would be harder, more tedious and more fluctuating. May or June would still be almost too early. The masses must have got damned lethargic after such long prosperity."<sup>16</sup>

9. Frederick Engels, **HERR DUHRING'S REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE**, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1939, p. 200.

10. Joseph Stalin, **DISSERTATIONAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM**, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1940, p. 12.

11. **THE SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS, 1846-1895**, translated by Dona Torr, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1942, p. 36.

12. V. I. Lenin, **THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION**, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 29. (Italics not in text.)

13. **THE SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS, 1846-1895**, translated by Dona Torr, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1942, p. 394-396.

14. **IBID.**, p. 85.

15. **IBID.**, p. 85.

16. **IBID.**, pp. 85-86.

The joy which Engels felt at the prospect is facetiously reported to Marx: "From the time the swindle crashed in New York I had no more peace in Jersey and feel in magnificent form amidst this general breakdown. The bourgeois filth of the last seven years had stuck to me to a certain extent after all, if it is washed away now I shall feel another fellow again. The crisis will do me as much good physically as a sea-bathe, I can see that already. In 1848 we said: Now our time is coming—and in a certain sense it came, but now it is coming altogether, now it will be a fight for life. This makes my military studies more practical at once. I am instantly throwing myself into the existing organization and elementary tactics of the Prussian, Austrian, Bavarian and French armies, and beyond that into nothing but riding, that is, fox hunting, which is the real school."<sup>17</sup>

Marx and Engels were disappointed in England in 1858. The crisis was vitiated. Their answer was that England recovered because she was exploiting the whole world; exploitation of the English worker was thus not so intense. "The only thing that would help here would be a few thoroughly bad years, and since the gold discoveries these no longer seem so easy to come by."<sup>18</sup>

All historical events must be seen as possible means for bringing on the revolution. Anything that seems helpful, whatever it might be, should be unresisted. Hence Marx wished to see Germany unified in order for the German workers organization to become more centralized. He wanted Germany to "thrash" France in 1870 because the center of gravity of the workers' movement would shift to Germany where the workers are sounder theoretically.<sup>19</sup>

Here is an example of Communist pleasure at the American exploitation of China: "The conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time give an impetus to the overthrow of capitalism in Europe and America."<sup>20</sup> Pious attacks against imperialism cannot always be taken at face value.

Marxs' attitude to the Irish question is interesting. The nationalist movement must be supported, not on grounds of "abstract justice or human sympathy", but to "hasten the social revolution in England."<sup>21</sup> Lenin and Stalin generalize this. "The proletariat supports the national movement in the most determined and active way because that movement is objectively revolutionary and leads to rebellion against imperialism in the very place where it has its 'greatest reserve and most important source of strength', thus furthering the proletarian revolution."<sup>22</sup>

17. IBID., p. 86.  
18. IBID., p. 116.  
19. IBID., p. 292.  
20. IBID., p. 119.  
21. IBID., p. 290.  
22. IBID., p. 291.

Engels expresses glee at the prospect of American trade winning out in competition with British trade: "It will do one great thing: it will break the last link which still binds the English working class to the English middle class. This link was their common working of a national monopoly. That monopoly once destroyed, the British working class will be compelled to take in hand its own interests, its own salvation, and to make an end of the wages system. Let us hope it will not wait until then."<sup>23</sup>

The same attitude can be found toward other "consequences" of capitalism such as wars. Marx criticized some associates in 1850 who were too impetuous. "We say to the workers: 'You have got to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and national wars not merely in order to change your conditions but in order to change yourselves and become qualified for political power.'"<sup>24</sup> The "change of conditions" is not so important. What is important is the change of character necessary for the *big* change!

Conclusion: The Communist believe that the revolution is inevitable. They do not believe that it ought to be prevented, nor that it can be prevented by democratic reform of capitalist institutions. They do believe that it can be postponed and hence are bitter against these liberal movements. Although they believe that capitalism will destroy itself and rejoice at symptoms thereof, they are not content merely to sit back and observe the spectacle. If history can be hastened at any time, let the revolution take place (e.g. Russia). But they are consistently against any reform in capitalism which does not further the revolution.

### III.

If it is true as suggested in 'I' that social reform prevents the advent of Communism; and if it is also true as argued in 'II' that Communists believe that social reform can postpone the advent of Communism; then why have the Communists in the past and in the present apparently worked for such reform?

I believe that the answer is a complex one. Their motives may include the following:

(a) To make friends with the people who really want the reform. Marx had to back the movements for "fair day's wages for a fair day's work" because not to have done so would have lost him the support of the people he hoped would destroy capitalism. He ridiculed an imprudent statement by the German leader, Liebknecht. ". . . This, by the way, is very fine! Because the Reichstag must *only* be used as a means of agitation, one must never agitate there for anything reasonable directly

23. Frederick Engels, THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT, International Publishers Co., Inc., 1940, p. 26.  
24. THE SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS, 1846-1895, translated by Dora Torr, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1942, p. 92.

(Continued on Page 10)



## OCTOBER ATLANTA AREA ECONOMIC INDICATORS

| ITEM   | Oct.<br>1954 | Sept.<br>1954 | %<br>Change | Oct.<br>1953 | %<br>Change |
|--|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <b>EMPLOYMENT</b>  |              |               |             |              |             |
| Job Insurance (Unemployment)<br>Payments -----                 | \$309,870    | \$359,531     | -13.8       | \$115,689    | +167.8      |
| Job Insurance Claimants† -----                                 | 4,842        | 5,103         | -5.1        | 2,605        | +85.9       |
| Total Non-Agricultural Employment -----                        | 300,300      | 297,550*      | +0.9        | 302,500      | -0.7        |
| Manufacturing Employment -----                                 | 78,700       | 78,000*       | +0.9        | 80,700       | -2.5        |
| Average Weekly Earnings,<br>Factory Workers -----              | \$63.04      | \$62.02*      | +1.6        | \$62.16      | +1.4        |
| Average Weekly Hours,<br>Factory Workers -----                 | 39.9         | 39.5*         | +1.0        | 40.1         | -0.5        |
| Number Help Wanted Ads -----                                   | 7,717        | 7,296         | +5.8        | 8,387        | -8.0        |
| <b>CONSTRUCTION</b>  |              |               |             |              |             |
| Number Building Permits<br>City of Atlanta -----               | 763          | 800           | -4.6        | 920          | -17.1       |
| Value Building Permits<br>City of Atlanta -----                | \$5,181,868  | \$7,315,218   | -29.2       | \$3,957,931  | +30.9       |
| Employees in Contract Construction -----                       | 18,050       | 17,350*       | +4.0        | 15,550       | +16.1       |
| <b>FINANCIAL</b>   |              |               |             |              |             |
| Bank Debits (Millions) -----                                   | \$1,351.9    | \$1,296.0     | +4.3        | \$1,303.6    | +3.7        |
| Total Deposits (Millions)<br>(Last Wednesday) -----            | \$1,011.6    | \$978.4       | +3.4        | \$960.1      | +5.4        |
| <b>POSTAL§</b>   |              |               |             |              |             |
| Postal Receipts -----  | \$1,506,167  | \$1,441,781   | +4.5        | \$1,554,165  | -3.1        |
| Poundage 2nd Class Mail -----                                  | 1,539,777    | 1,377,974     | +11.7       | 1,471,433    | +4.6        |
| <b>OTHER</b>   |              |               |             |              |             |
| Department Store Sales Index<br>(Adjusted) (1947-49=100) ----- | 144          | 128           | +12.5       | 130          | +10.8       |
| Retail Food Price Index<br>1947-49=100) -----                  | 111.5        | 113.3         | -1.6        | 114.6        | -2.7        |
| Number Telephones in Service -----                             | 252,245      | 250,897       | +0.5        | 241,760      | +4.3        |
| Number Local Calls Per Day -----                               | 1,761,362    | 1,710,434     | +3.0        | 1,720,141    | +2.4        |

N.A.—Not Available. \*Revised  
†City of Atlanta only.

†Claimants include both the unemployed and those with job attachments, but working short hours.

Sources: All data on employment, unemployment, hours, and earnings: Employment Security Agency, Georgia Department of Labor; Number Help Wanted Ads: Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.; Building permits data: Office of the Building Inspector, Atlanta, Georgia; Financial data: Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System; Postal data: Atlanta Post Office; Retail Food Price Index: U. S. Department of Labor; Department Store Sales and Stocks Indexes: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System; Telephones in Service: Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.



## NOVEMBER ATLANTA AREA ECONOMIC INDICATORS

| ITEM   | Nov.<br>1954 | Oct.<br>1954 | %<br>Change | Nov.<br>1953 | %<br>Change |
|--|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <b>EMPLOYMENT</b>  |              |              |             |              |             |
| Job Insurance (Unemployment)<br>Payments -----                 | \$294,780    | \$309,870    | -4.9        | \$154,954    | +90.2       |
| Job Insurance Claimants†-----                                  | 4,721        | 4,842        | -2.5        | 4,092        | +15.4       |
| Total Non-Agricultural Employment -----                        | 306,200      | 301,300*     | +1.6        | 304,150      | +0.7        |
| Manufacturing Employment -----                                 | 81,550       | 79,250*      | +2.9        | 80,650       | +1.1        |
| Average Weekly Earnings,<br>Factory Workers -----              | \$65.37      | \$63.04      | +3.7        | \$62.16      | +5.1        |
| Average Weekly Hours,<br>Factory Workers -----                 | 40.6         | 39.9         | +1.8        | 40.1         | +1.2        |
| Number Help Wanted Ads -----                                   | 6,668        | 7,717        | -13.6       | 6,526        | +2.2        |
| <b>CONSTRUCTION</b>  |              |              |             |              |             |
| Number Building Permits<br>City of Atlanta -----               | 635          | 763          | -16.8       | 701          | -9.4        |
| Value Building Permits<br>City of Atlanta -----                | \$7,218,847  | \$5,181,868  | +39.3       | \$11,274,667 | -36.0       |
| Employees in Contract Construction -----                       | 18,500       | 18,000*      | +2.8        | 15,900       | +16.4       |
| <b>FINANCIAL</b>   |              |              |             |              |             |
| Bank Debits (Millions) -----                                   | \$1,322.3    | \$1,351.9    | -2.2        | \$1,204.2    | +9.8        |
| Total Deposits (Millions)<br>(Last Wednesday) -----            | \$1,025.4    | \$1,011.6    | +1.4        | \$977.8      | +4.9        |
| <b>POSTAL§</b>   |              |              |             |              |             |
| Postal Receipts -----  | \$1,528,235  | \$1,506,167  | +1.5        | \$1,396,279  | +9.5        |
| Poundage 2nd Class Mail -----                                  | 1,433,368    | 1,539,777    | -6.9        | 1,350,868    | +6.1        |
| <b>OTHER</b>   |              |              |             |              |             |
| Department Store Sales Index<br>(Adjusted) (1947-49=100) ----- | 137          | 144          | -4.9        | 125          | +9.6        |
| Retail Food Price Index<br>(1947-49=100) -----                 | 110.5        | 111.5        | -0.9        | 112.1        | -1.4        |
| Number Telephones in Service -----                             | 253,395      | 252,245      | +0.5        | 242,688      | +4.4        |
| Number Local Calls Per Day -----                               | 1,788,056    | 1,761,362    | +1.5        | 1,702,768    | +5.0        |

N.A.—Not Available. \*Revised  
†City of Atlanta only.

‡Claimants include both the unemployed and those with job attachments, but working short hours.

Sources: Same as page 6.

# Cummulative Annual Totals Through ECONOMIC INDICATORS

**January Through October, 1953 and 1954**

| 1954          | 1953         | ITEM   | % Change |
|---------------|--------------|--|----------|
| 56,271        | 26,862       | Job Insurance Claimants -----                        | +109.5   |
| \$13,879,646  | \$12,092,898 | Postal Receipts, Atlanta Post Office -----           | +14.8    |
| \$73,500,044† | \$66,471,394 | Value Building Permits, City of Atlanta -----        | +10.6    |
| 15,505        | 14,035       | No. Construction Employees* -----                    | +10.5    |
| 13,120,850    | 12,423,075   | Poundage 2nd Class Mail, Atlanta Post Office -----   | +5.6     |
| \$1,011.6     | \$960.1      | Total Deposits (Millions)** -----                    | +5.4     |
| 252,245       | 241,760      | Telephones in Service** -----                        | +4.3     |
| \$12,640.0    | \$12,227.0   | Bank Debits (Millions) -----                         | +3.4     |
| N.A.          | N.A.         | Department Store Sales Based on Dollar Amounts ----- | +2.0     |
| 296,135       | 290,675      | Total Non-Agricultural Employment* -----             | +1.9     |
| 78,080        | 78,395       | No. Manufacturing Employees* -----                   | -0.4     |
| \$62.55       | \$63.14      | Average Weekly Earnings, Factory Workers* -----      | -0.9     |
| 111.5         | 114.6        | Retail Food Price Index (October) -----              | -2.7     |
| 39.7          | 40.9         | Average Weekly Hours, Factory Workers* -----         | -2.9     |
| N.A.          | N.A.         | Department Store Stocks** -----                      | -7.0     |
| 8,461         | 9,293        | Number of Building Permits, City of Atlanta -----    | -9.0     |
| 67,686        | 99,228       | Number Help Wanted Ads -----                         | -31.8    |

†Special ruling permits construction of \$20,500,000 Grady Hospital addition without permit. If included, total above is \$94,000,044 and the change becomes plus 41.4%.

\*Average Month.

\*\*End of Period.

N.A.—Not Available.

Sources: Same as page 6.

## Just Published by the Division of Research— THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN GEORGIA

By  
**DR. HENRY C. PEPPER**

The Georgia General Assembly is analyzed, and recommendations are made for improving its procedures in a monograph just published by the Division of Research of the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia. The author is Dr. Henry C. Pepper, Professor of Public Administration and Chairman of the Division of Public Administration of the Atlanta Division.

In this study, Dr. Pepper has made a detailed analysis of the work of the General Assembly with special emphasis on the organization and proce-

dures of the committees. The monograph covers three topics: the organization and procedures of the General Assembly, the organization and procedures of the committees, and legislative aids and special services.

The five chapter headings are as follows:

1. Legislative Bodies: Some Basic Considerations
2. The General Assembly Organizes
3. The General Assembly in Action
4. Committees
5. Legislative Aids and Special Services

Dr. Pepper's study is especially timely with the

# October and November for 1953-1954 FOR THE ATLANTA AREA

## January Through November, 1953 and 1954

| 1954          | 1953         | ITEM   | % Change |
|---------------|--------------|--|----------|
| 60,992        | 30,954       | Job Insurance Claimants -----                        | +97.0    |
| \$15,407,881  | \$13,489,177 | Postal Receipts, Atlanta Post Office -----           | +14.2    |
| 15,773        | 14,159       | No. Construction Employees* -----                    | +11.4    |
| 14,554,218    | 13,773,943   | Poundage 2nd Class Mail, Atlanta Post Office -----   | +5.7     |
| \$1,025.4     | \$977.8      | Total Deposits (Millions)** -----                    | +4.9     |
| 253,395       | 242,688      | Telephones in Service** -----                        | +4.4     |
| \$13,926.1    | \$13,431.2   | Bank Debits (Millions) -----                         | +4.0     |
| \$80,718,891† | \$77,746,061 | Value Building Permits, City of Atlanta -----        | +3.8     |
| N.A.          | N.A.         | Department Store Sales Based on Dollar Amounts ----- | +3.0     |
| 297,264       | 291,623      | Total Non-Agricultural Employment* -----             | +1.9     |
| N.A.          | N.A.         | Department Store Stocks** -----                      | +0.0     |
| 78,518        | 78,532       | No. Manufacturing Employees* -----                   | -0.0     |
| \$62.81       | \$63.05      | Average Weekly Earnings, Factory Workers* -----      | -0.4     |
| 110.5         | 112.1        | Retail Food Price Index (November) -----             | -1.4     |
| 39.8          | 40.8         | Average Weekly Hours, Factory Workers* -----         | -2.5     |
| 9,096         | 9,994        | Number of Building Permits, City of Atlanta -----    | -9.0     |
| 74,354        | 105,754      | Number Help Wanted Ads -----                         | -29.7    |

†Special ruling permits construction of \$20,500,000 Grady Hospital addition without permit. If included, total above is \$101,218,891 and the change becomes plus 30.2.  
\*Average Month.  
\*\*End of Period.  
N.A.—Not Available.  
Sources: Same as page 6.

legislature facing an ever increasing work load and needing modernization of its procedures if it is to serve its proper function. The accompanying table from Dr. Pepper's monograph indicates the increasing work load being experienced by the General Assembly.

### LEGISLATIVE WORKLOAD FOR SELECTED SESSIONS OF THE GEORGIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

|                    | 1941 | 1945 | 1949 | 1951-52 | 1953 |
|--------------------|------|------|------|---------|------|
| House              | 770  | 806  | 1140 | 1026    | 1046 |
| Senate             | 228  | 301  | 245  | 221     | 241  |
| Total              | 998  | 1107 | 1385 | 1247    | 1287 |
| Passed & Enacted   | 473  | 634  | 859  | 810     | 856  |
| % Passed & Enacted | 47.4 | 57.3 | 62.0 | 65.0    | 66.5 |
| Vetoed             | 40   | 0    | 36   | 15      | 20   |

Dr. Pepper prepared this study from material which he gathered as a consultant to the Special House Committee which was appointed by the House of Representatives of the 1953 biennial session of the Georgia General Assembly. The Committee was appointed to study the operations of

the committees of the House and to make recommendations designed to increase their efficiency. The Chairman of the Special House Committee asked Dr. Pepper to serve as a voluntary consultant to the committee. Dr. Pepper was particularly well qualified for serving as a consultant and for preparing this monograph as a result of having been the editor of the LEGISLATIVE SERVICE which was provided for the members of the General Assembly during the last two biennial sessions.

Businessmen, teachers, students of government, civic leaders, and people particularly interested in learning about the General Assembly of Georgia will find this monograph very informative as well as interesting reading.

Copies of this monograph, which is priced at 50 cents a copy, may be ordered from the Division of Research; Atlanta Division, University of Georgia; Atlanta, Georgia.

affecting the interests of the workers." As Engels said, "This will get him the hell of a long way with the workers."<sup>25</sup>

Reforms fought for on a non-class basis and won without Communist leadership benefit the Communist movement not at all. If the reforms must come, the Communists like to receive the credit and see the battle lines drawn. It is much more important to the Communists to seem to want them, than that they ever come to pass. The confidence of the discontented segments of society must be won. Initially, this is best done by appearing to serve their more immediate needs—abstract dialectics at this stage may be ineffectual.

If the theses in Parts I and II are correct, the Communist must always weigh the harm they do in getting a reform against the friendship they win in working for it.

A party leader commented at the convention of the Communist Party in New York in 1950: "The basic object of a Communist is to win the confidence of his shopmates; the workers will accept the leadership of a Communist in the shop or union and defend him when such a Communist is known as a friend, as a tireless fighter for the workers' interests, as a fearless and sensible fighter."<sup>26</sup> And Marx and Engels write in 1848: "Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in ever expanding union of the workers."<sup>27</sup>

(b) To educate people in the principles of Communism. In the 1880's Engels wrote some articles for the *Labour Standard*, a publication of the London Trades Council. The editor became alarmed, finally, and asked Engels to tone down two passages in an editorial. Engels replied that if these were too strong, "then my more forceful articles should appear much more so. Therefore, it is better for both of us if I stop writing."<sup>28</sup>

One of his editorials is entitled "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work." He argues that this demand is logically impossible in any genuine sense of the word 'fair', and only logically possible in the capitalistic sense of 'fair'. He says that this old motto must be buried forever and replaced by "Possession of the means of work—raw material, factories, machinery—by the working people themselves."<sup>29</sup>

Two weeks later, Engels reluctantly (it seems to me) admitted that the unions could improve conditions a little, but concluded once again in the

un-reformist spirit: "There is no real redemption for the working class until it becomes owner of all means of work—land, raw materials, machinery, etc.—and thereby also the owner of the whole of the produce of its own labour."<sup>30</sup>

In another article, he conveys his defeatist view toward any concrete improvement short of revolution:

"... This, however, is the utmost trades unions, as at present organized, can hope to do, and that by constant struggle only, by an immense waste of strength and money; and then the fluctuations of trade, one every ten years at least, break down for the moment what has been conquered, and the fight has to be fought over again. It is a vicious circle from which there is no issue. The working class remains what it was, and what our Chartist forefathers were not afraid to call a class of wage slaves. Is this to be the final result of all this labour, self-sacrifice, and suffering? Is this to remain for ever the highest aim of the British workmen? Or is the working class of this country at last to attempt breaking through this vicious circle, and to find an issue out of it in a movement for the abolition of the wages system altogether?"<sup>31</sup>

These articles that Engels wrote for the union magazine were obviously of little help in getting concrete benefits for the workers. In fact, because they were so "strong", they conceivably could have had just the opposite effect. Nor did they inspire the working men to fight harder for "a fair day's wages . . ." Engel's journalism on behalf of the English workmen was for the purpose of educating them for a more fundamental struggle.

(c) To fan the revolutionary embers by making propaganda capital of social evils. In April, 1917, Lenin said:

The peculiarity of the actual situation "makes it imperative 'to pour vinegar and bile into the sweetish water of revolutionary democratic eloquence.' We must do the work of criticism, expose the mistakes of the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionist and Social-Democratic parties, prepare and weld together the elements of a class-conscious proletarian Communist Party, free the proletariat from the spell of the 'common' petty-bourgeois delusion."

"In appearance this is 'nothing more' than propaganda work. In reality, this is the most practical revolution work . . ."<sup>32</sup>

The Communist can make excellent capital out of social injustices in capitalistic countries. He can win good will by going on record as being sympathetic to the oppressed. The people he can win to his cause by publicizing these injustices is more important a consideration, often, than the plight of the particular sufferer. This is Communist realism. The revolution is the important thing; alleviation of particular evils is at best but a means. "Everything else is deception and Manilovism."<sup>33</sup> Manilovism connotes sentimental dreams of the im-

25. IBID., p. 261.

26. Quoted by J. Edgar Hoover in "Communism—Enemy of American Labor." AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, Sept., 1951.

27. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1918, p. 18.

28. Frederick Engels, THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT. International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1940, p. 6.

29. IBID., p. 12.

30. IBID., p. 14.

31. IBID., p. 18.

32. V. I. Lenin, THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION. International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 8.

33. IBID., p. 19.

possible, after Gogol's character Manilov in *Dead Souls*. It refers to the utopian reformers who seek to alter society by gradual parliamentary methods.

Speaking of the "World Federation of Trade Unions," George Meany of the A.F.L. says: "Its aim is not to eliminate but to exploit the shortcomings and evils in society."<sup>34</sup> Hoover calls the Communist "concentration policy" a policy of "setting up a howl about some grievance, real or feigned, and then keeping it alive, even defying arbitration."<sup>35</sup> Irwin Suall writes about the campaign of the British Trades Union Congress: "This campaign is the reaction to the actions of the Communists who, conforming slavishly to the dictates of the Cominform denounced virtually all T.U.C. policies and bent every effort to exploit the workers' grievances in an attempt to disrupt the trade unions and further their own political line."<sup>36</sup> Spitz writes: "Once in control, they use these organizations not simply for the avowed purposes for which these organizations were designed but as a spring-board from which to proclaim communist doctrine on all subjects, and especially to propagandize for the Soviet Union and its policies."<sup>37</sup>

In 1952 the "Negro Labor Committee, U.S.A." was formed to fight for civil liberties: economic and political equality and equality of opportunity. The leftist National Negro Labor Council was deemed ineffective. The chairman of the new group, Frank R. Crosswaith, called for a world congress of Negro workers and peoples. Such a movement, he said, could "join the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in helping to halt the march of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, which seeks to win the working masses of Africa and the West Indies, not for their economic, political and social well-being and advancement, but to give strength and power to Russian Stalinism."<sup>38</sup>

The difference, then, between a Communist and a non-Communist who both back the same action is that the former propagandizes *about* it to forge a revolution while the latter earnestly works *for* it to correct a social injustice. The former fans the enmities and deepens the hatreds. He wins new adherents to Communism and imparts zeal to the old adherents. Whether anything is done about the injustice is beside the point to the Communist, for, after all, any society but Communism is to him hopeless.

(d) To cooperate with Moscow, the capital of international Communism. Lenin states the role Communism is to play in countries still capitalistic: "There is one, and only one, kind of real interna-

tionalism: hard work at developing the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own land, and the support (by propaganda, sympathy, material aide) of such, and only such, struggles and policies in every country without exception."<sup>39</sup> Spitz writes: "Communists will not hesitate to sacrifice the economic ends of organizations they control for the political ends of the USSR."<sup>40</sup> The ends of the USSR are of course paramount for it is the largest single Communist country—the arsenal of Communism. Tito could never understand this in respect to Yugoslavia. George Meany writes: "The W.F.T.U. was not interested in the welfare of the worker but was merely an instrument for the advancement of the Soviet scheme of world domination."<sup>41</sup> The Communists in France and Italy obediently oppose Marshall Plan aid although it provides jobs there for the working man.

The "instruments" the Communists use may range all the way from creating dissension to committing sabotage—whatever the interests of Russia dictate. Burnham reports the calculated action of the Communist-controlled United Electrical Workers in 1947 to injure the cause of the Reuther-led U.A.W. The former union signed a contract with General Motors on terms Reuther had already rejected—to weaken the bargaining power of a strongly anti-Communist union!<sup>42</sup> This international conspiracy goes forward under the banner of justice for the oppressed.

These are but four possible motives the Communists may have in their social work, which appears so paradoxical in view of their theory of history and their contempt for "panaceas". There are doubtless more. They all point to the same objective, however. Wishing to see capitalism destroy itself, they desire only so much actual reform and agitation for reform as will, under their auspices, serve as instruments for the *real* revolution in society.

Conclusion: It is a mistake to think that the zeal of the Communists is for anything short of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This end can be served by devious and peculiar means. It is also a mistake to think that sincere demand and work through democratic channels for social reform—of whatever kind—are the efforts of Communists, fellow-travelers, or dupes. Investigation of the activities of Communists in the labor unions, race cases, the Scottsboro boys, the Rosenbergs, the Peekskill riots, and the United Nations may provide documentary confirmation for this hypothesis.

34. George Meany, "The A. F. L. and the Fight for Freedom," AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, April, 1951.

35. OP. CITE. Hoover.

36. Irwin Suall, "British Trades Union Congress Sets its House in Order," AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, Sept., 1949.

37. Spitz, "Why Communists Are Not of the Left," ANTIOCH REVIEW, Dec., 1949.

38. Frank R. Crosswaith, "Labor Unit for Negro Rights," SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW, June, 1952.

39. V. I. Lenin, THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION, International Publishers Co., Inc., New York, 1932, p. 19.

40. OP. CITE. Spitz.

41. George Meany, "The A. F. L. and the Fight for Freedom," AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, April, 1951.

42. James Burnham, "Suicidal Mania of American Business," PARTISAN REVIEW, Jan., 1950.

---

Atlanta Division  
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA  
24 Ivy Street, S.E.  
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

V

191

U